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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL CLIFTON

I think the President may be interested in this as a follow-up on the briefing which he had the other day. I have the book of additional remarks if the President wants it, but I think the letter itself will tell him what he needs to know.

McGeorge Bundy

~~TOP SECRET~~ ATTACHMENT

CIA (Dulles) ltr of 2/28/61 to Mr. Bundy re Soviet statements on missiles. Returned to Mr. Bundy 3/3/61 with note: "The President read this with interest."

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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March 2, 1961

The President read this with interest.

C. V. CLIFTON



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

28 FEB 1961

P. Hunt #2c  
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Mr. McGeorge Bundy  
Special Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House

Dear Mac:

During our meeting with the President last Saturday, a few of the significant Soviet statements about missiles were mentioned. As a follow-up to that meeting, I believe you may find of interest the attached, more extensive selection. This selection focuses on statements about long-range ballistic missiles, especially ICBM's, made publicly or in private by Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders in the period since mid-1957.

Individual statements of most significance to the ICBM problem are:

- ✓ (a) Khrushchev's 7-Year Plan Theses of 14 November 1958 and statement to the Supreme Soviet on 27 January 1959, in which he announced the beginning of ICBM serial production.

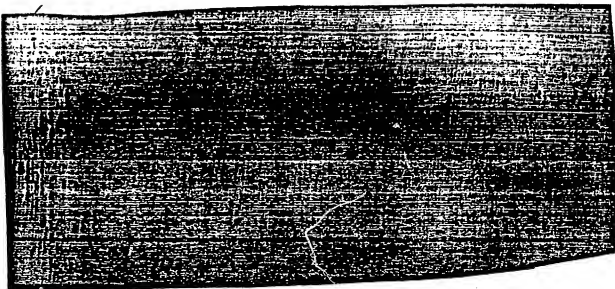
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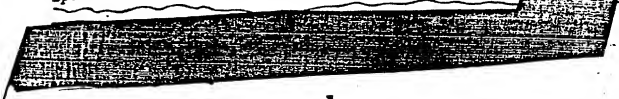
✓ (c) Malinovsky's statement to the Supreme Soviet on 15 January 1960, that "rocket troops...are undoubtedly the main type of armed forces." He and Khrushchev announced a military reorganization and troop reductions at that time. Malinovsky added, however, that other types of forces were to be retained in "relevant sound proportions."

✓ (d) Khrushchev's statements to a Communist conference in Rumania on 21 June 1960, that the U-2 had photographed "only the experimental ground for launching rockets...not the rocket bases of military and strategic importance."

✓ (e) Khrushchev's reported statement to Satellite delegates en route to the United Nations in early October 1960, that "200 rockets are sufficient to destroy England, France, and Germany, and 300 rockets will destroy the United States." This report,


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again ambiguous as to precise meaning but indicating some fairly  
specific Soviet view of ballistic missile requirements.



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CIA maintains extensive files on Soviet statements pertaining to weapon systems and military programming. Where hard evidence is available it generally shows that these statements have some basis in fact, but often reveals the calculated use of ambiguity and innuendo to magnify the Soviet capability or to present an anticipated development as if it were a current capability. Soviet statements are correlated with all other available evidence in the preparation of our estimates.

  
Allen W. Dulles  
Director

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*Limited Distribution*

COMPENDIUM OF  
SOVIET REMARKS ON MISSILES

UNCLASSIFIED UPON  
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

BY MFO DATE 9/21/78

# COMPENDIUM OF SOVIET REMARKS ON MISSILES

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26 Aug 57, Announcement of Successful ICBM Test

"In conformity with the scientific-research program, successful tests of an intercontinental ballistic rocket, as well as explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, have taken place in the Soviet Union.

"A super long-distance intercontinental multistage ballistic rocket was launched a few days ago. The tests of the rocket were successful; they fully confirmed the correctness of the calculations and the selected design. The rocket flew at a very high, unprecedented altitude, covering a huge distance in a brief time. The rocket landed in the target area. The results obtained show that it is possible to direct rockets into any part of the world.

"The solution of the problem of designing intercontinental ballistic rockets will make it possible to reach remote areas without resorting to a strategic air force which at the present time is vulnerable to up-to-date means of antiaircraft defense.

"..., the Soviet Government expresses gratitude to a large group of workers who have taken part in designing and manufacturing the intercontinental ballistic rockets and the complex of facilities for launching them."

TASS, 26 Aug 57



7 October 1957, Khrushchev, Interview with Reston

The present period is something like a turning point. Military specialists believe that planes, whether bombers or fighters, are in their decline. Bombers have such speeds and altitudes that they are vulnerable to attack by modern rockets /missiles/. Fighters, on the other hand, now have such a great speed that their use against fighters is becoming difficult, while against bombers they are also insufficiently effective. Moreover, fighters are manned by people, whom of course we do not want to lose.

I am not implying that all this is true of our country only. Although the United States does not have the rocket today, you will have it, since science is constantly developing. The same may be said of the Soviet Union: if today we do not have something that you have, we will have it, too....

I want you to understand me correctly. I have said all this not to intimidate anyone or to exert political pressure on the public. All these things are realities. When we announced the successful testing of an intercontinental missile, some American statesmen did not believe us. The Soviet Union, they claimed, was saying it had something it did not really have. Now that we have successfully launched an earth satellite, only technically ignorant people can doubt this. The United States does not have an intercontinental ballistic missile, otherwise it would also have easily launched a satellite of its own. We can launch satellites because we have a carrier for them, namely the ballistic missile.

I think I will not be revealing any military secrets if I tell you that we now have all the rockets we need: long-range rockets, intermediate rockets, and close-range rockets. Of course, these are not the limits of what can be achieved, for engineering is not marking time, but these means fully insure our defense.

The reason we support peaceful coexistence is not that we are weak, not that we are afraid of the imperialists, but that a new war with modern, deadly types of weapons like thermonuclear bombs and the means of their delivery, such as the intercontinental ballistic missile, would mean death for millions upon millions of people and the destruction of enormous material values created by the labor of many generations.

Moscow, NYTimes, 10 Oct 1959, Uncl.

14 November 1957, Khrushchev Interview with Shapiro

Some American leaders threaten the Soviet Union, saying that they have encircled our country with military bases. It is true, we are surrounded by American bases. But it should be borne in mind that modern military techniques make it possible to keep all of America's vital centers under fire from submarines and with the help of ballistic missiles, and to blockade the US coast. This means that the United States is now just as vulnerable as any other country....

(Shapiro:) Are military bases losing their importance with the development of rocket weapons?

(Khrushchev:) Unquestionably. Bombers could in their time be stopped by antiaircraft fire, artillery, or rockets, but there is no stopping the intercontinental ballistic missile.

You will say: But will not the Soviet Union suffer too? Of course, we too will suffer great losses. But look at the vast spaces on our map and look at Germany, France, and Britain. One does not have to be a strategist, a military man, to see the difference.

(Shapiro:) America too has vast expanses.

(Khrushchev:) Not quite as vast. And it should be kept in mind that American cities such as New York, Chicago, San Francisco and others have a large concentration of industries. Our industries are more widely dispersed. Moreover, the reorganization of industry that we have carried out insures a more autonomous management of industry, which also is a plus strategically....

The United States has...rockets but not the intercontinental ones. For us, the intercontinental ballistic missile is a settled question. If necessary, we can launch any number of sputniks we want. And we will launch them, for there is no technical problem to it. It is merely a matter of placing the necessary equipment in place of the hydrogen charge. We have already developed an intercontinental ballistic missile with a hydrogen warhead. However, the tests were conducted with blanks. We would like never to have to launch rockets with hydrogen warheads.

(Shapiro:) You said earlier that bombers have been made obsolete by the development of rocket techniques, but our military leaders say that this is not so.

(Khrushchev:) But they cannot say differently. If they admitted that it is so, the American taxpayers would say: You have taken so many billions from us and built bombers. What are you going to do with them? Your military leaders are hard put to it to give up the policy they have pursued thus far with regard to the technical equipment of the army.

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(Shapiro:) You believe that the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States not only regarding the intercontinental ballistic missile, but also in the manufacture of rockets in general?

(Khrushchev:) Most assuredly. Some people in the United States say now that we have been assisted by German specialists taken prisoner during World War II. This of course is arrant nonsense. Consider for yourselves. American troops captured the German rocket bases and took to America the chief designers, other specialists and all of the equipment. And the United States still has not developed the intercontinental ballistic missile. The development of rocketry in the USSR is an outcome of the development of Soviet science and engineering, our industry. These achievements are a source of pride to our people, to our socialist state.

Our designers have also developed rockets that can, in the event of an attack on our country, dispose of any base in Europe, Asia, and Africa. On the very first try our rocket hit the target. If we reach a disarmament agreement with the United States and other countries, we might perhaps agree to taking our rockets to some proving ground and competing in target shooting before delegating them to a museum or sending them to be destroyed.

(Shapiro:) Are military bases losing their importance with the development of rocket weapons?

(Khrushchev:) Unquestionably. Bombers could in their time be stopped by antiaircraft fire, artillery, or rockets, but there is no stopping the intercontinental ballistic missile.

Moscow, Home Service, Unclassified

22 January 1958, Khrushchev Foreign Policy Speech

Yet also this bourgeois story has come to an end. Suddenly an intercontinental ballistic missile was launched in the USSR, the testing of which has yielded positive results. Now we are capable of directing a rocket to any part of the earth, and, if need be, with a hydrogen warhead. The report about this event was met with incredulity and was interpreted in such a way as to allege that the Soviet leaders were trying to encourage their people and to frighten the governments of the Western powers. Yet now the USSR has launched, on the basis of the intercontinental ballistic rocket, an artificial earth satellite. And when this satellite started to orbit around the earth and everybody was able to see it--provided he was capable of seeing--by glancing at the sky, our enemies became silent.

In the USSR the world's first artificial earth satellites were created and successfully launched. And, of course, this is by no means the last word of Soviet science and technology, of our socialist industry. The whole world was astounded by the fact that the weight of the second artificial satellite exceeded by over six times that of the first satellite, amounting to over half a ton. Yet this is not the limit. We can double and more than double the weight of the satellite, because the Soviet intercontinental rocket possesses enormous capacity, making it possible to launch a satellite of still greater weight to a still greater height. And we shall possibly accomplish it! (Stormy applause)

When N.A. Bulganin and I visited London in the spring of 1956 and had talks with Messrs. Eden, Lloyd, Macmillan, Butler, and other British statesmen, we told them frankly that we possessed rockets of various ranges. Later when Israel, Britain, and France attacked Egypt, the Soviet Government declared in its message to the Prime Minister of Great Britain: What would be Britain's own position if she were attacked by stronger states possessing all kinds of modern destructive weapons? And such countries, this message said, could dispense with sending either naval units or air forces to Britain's coasts and use other means, for instance, rocket technique.

This statement of the Soviet Government had an effect on them. Evidently, they thought previously that we were just frightening them when we spoke frankly about the existence in the Soviet Union of powerful rocket equipment. However, later on they became convinced that we really possessed such equipment and this had its effect. (Applause)

Obstructing the solution of problems connected with the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, however, the Western powers are now raising an entirely new issue--that of prohibiting the use of cosmic, interplanetary space, that is, in effect, prohibiting intercontinental ballistic missiles. But, just a moment, the Soviet Union possesses such missiles, while the Western powers do not. In this way the U.S. Government wants to detach from the general problem of disarmament the single issue of the intercontinental missile, refusing, moreover, to take any practical steps

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toward a ban on weapons of mass annihilation.

It goes without saying that we cannot deny the importance of the question of control over the use of cosmic space. But this question must be examined as part of the general disarmament problem, including the question of a ban on atom and hydrogen arms. In the interests of the consolidation of peace and the achievement of an agreement on disarmament issues, the USSR would be ready to include a discussion of the intercontinental ballistic missile if the Western powers agree to a ban on atomic and hydrogen arms, to a halt of this testing and to liquidation of the military bases with which the United States has surrounded the USSR and other socialist countries.

We have these rockets today and they can be aimed at any area of the globe for dealing a crushing blow at the aggressors, if they should attempt to unleash a new war. Thus the imperialists will succeed in intimidating us. The Soviet people are not a fearful lot, and let the lovers of military adventures take a little thought for themselves while we have something with which to defend the honor, freedom, independence, and great gains of the Soviet people. (Tempestuous applause)

Moscow, Home Service, Unclassified.

9 Jul 58, Khrushchev Speech in Bitterfield, East Germany

The Soviet atomic specialists or the specialists who have developed the intercontinental rocket and the artificial earth satellites have no grievances against their socialist state: they are living in a way that, as the saying goes, may God give you the same kind of life. (Stormy applause) The Soviet Government gives them rewards; many of them were awarded Lenin prizes, the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. Also, materially they are well off.

It is only in one respect that they have to suffer somewhat: for the surrounding world they are, for the time being, anonymous. They live, so to say, under appellation, the "scientists-engineers working in the field of the atomic and rocket technology" and exactly who these people are is, for the time being, unknown by the outer world.

We shall erect an obelisk to the people who have created the rocket and the artificial earth satellites. We shall inscribe their glorious names in gold to make them known to posterity for centuries. (Long applause) In due time the photographs and names of those glorious people will be widely known by the people.

We highly value these people, we prize them and protect their safety from hostile agents who might be sent in to destroy these outstanding people, our valuable cadres. But now, in view of the safety of the country and of the lives of those scientists, engineers, technicians, and other specialists, we may not as yet make public their names and their photographs.

This applies, however, only to those specialists who are working in the branches of science and technology which at present constitute secrets of the state. In all other domains, scientists, engineers, and specialists enjoy wide popularity in our society. The Soviet state and our society highly prize their scientists, engineer-technical workers and other specialists and worthily remunerate their work, which is greatly beneficial for society.

Moscow, Home Service, 22 Jul 58

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14 Nov 58, Khrushchev Theses on Seven Year Plan

In his seven-year plan Theses of 14 November 1958, Khrushchev announced that the "production of ICBMs has been successfully set up."

Pravda, 14 Nov 58 (U)

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1 December 1958, KHRUSHCHEV INTERVIEW WITH HUMPHREY

In conversation with Senator Humphrey Khrushchev said Soviets had exploded a hydrogen bomb of five million tons but that due to improvements in technique they had used one-tenth of fissionable materials formerly required. He also stated that some members of his family had just left for area where new rockets were being tested. He said they now had a rocket which would travel 14,000 kilometers but had no area where they could safely test rocket for this distance. He suggested in joking manner that we hold a rocket competition. He was very confident on Soviet weapon superiority. He stated several times that they had all the H and A bombs they needed and in fact had too many and would not only stop production of fissionable material for weapons purposes but would shortly dismantle some of their bombs.

US Emb Moscow, 1204, 3 December 1958 (S)

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By <u>msm</u>	NARS, Date <u>3/1/81</u>

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27 Jan 59, Khrushchev to Supreme Soviet on Directives of Seven  
Year Plan

Soviet scientists, builders and engineers have rendered great services to our Motherland, they have made a worthy contribution to the whole people's work of constructing communism. The whole world is familiar with the successes of Soviet science in the fields of nuclear physics and atomic energy, jet propelled aviation and rocket technology. Important progress (serious achievement) has been made toward the use of thermonuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The series production of intercontinental ballistic rockets has been organized in the Soviet Union.

Pravda, 28 Jan 59

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5 Feb 59, Khrushchev Speech at 21st Party Congress

...American generals and statesmen often say that the United States is in a more favorable position militarily than the Soviet Union, because it has a string of military bases in the territories of European and Asian countries which may be used to strike at our country, whereas the Soviet Union, they say, still has few intercontinental rockets.

For this reason, they assert that war is not really a great menace to the United States. For example, U.S. Defense Secretary McElroy stated the other day that the United States would conduct military operations from the territories of its allies located near the borders of the USSR, while the Soviet Union would have to depend solely on rockets that it can launch from its own territory...

When strategic plans are built on a false premise this can lead to errors holding disastrous consequences for the cause of peace. If a state thinks that at any given moment its adversary lacks the weapon to strike at its territory, the temptation may arise to use this propitious moment for starting a war. If any US statesmen happen to think that today their territory is invulnerable they might arrive at the conclusion that the right time has come for them to start a war, and to pay the price of war with the blood and lives of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Turks, and their other allies, whose territory would in the event of war be laid bare with intermediate and short-range rockets, while the United States would in the opinion of these myopic military "strategist," be able to safeguard itself from destruction...

I think it is high time for the American strategists to come out of their fool's paradise that in the event of a military conflict the territory of the United States would remain invulnerable. For a long time now this has not accorded with reality, and has been nothing more than wishful thinking on the part of America's generals. In point of fact, the Soviet Union has today the means to deliver a crushing blow to the aggressor at any point of the globe. After all, it is not a mere figure of speech when we say we have organized serial production of intercontinental ballistic rockets. Nor do we say it to threaten anyone, but rather to bring clarity into the existing state of affairs.

Pravda, 6 Feb 59

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23 June 59, Khrushchev interview with Gov. Harriman

(Khrushchev did not object when Harriman stated that it should be obvious that the US would never under any circumstances start a war....)

(Khrushchev) We developed the hydrogen bomb before the US. We have an intercontinental bomb which you have not. Perhaps this is the crucial symbol of our position....

The West seemed to forget that a few Russian missiles could destroy all of Europe. One bomb was sufficient for Bonn and three to five would knock out France, England, Spain, and Italy. The US had a winged, pilotless plane whose speed was 1,000 kilometers per hour, which was within easy range of Soviet fighters. US missiles, he said, could carry a warhead of only ten kilograms, whereas Russian missiles could carry 1300 kilograms. Under these circumstances, it was unrealistic to threaten the Soviets....[The weights cited by Khrushchev apparently referred to the US and Soviet earth satellites.]

We will put an end to your rights in Berlin. If you want to use force to preserve your rights, you can be sure that we will respond with force. You can start a war if you want, but remember it will be you who are starting it, not we. If you want to perpetuate or prolong your rights, this means war. You recognized West Germany on conditions contrary to those agreed upon during the war....If you continue to operate from a position of strength, then you must decide for yourselves. We too are strong and we will decide for ourselves.

What good does it do you to have 11,000 troops in Berlin? If it came to war, we would swallow them in one gulp.

"West Germany knows that we could destroy it in ten minutes. If Germany faces the question of whether to exist or not, its decision may be different from that of today." When it was suggested that Moscow and Leningrad were equally susceptible to destruction, Khrushchev retorted that Leningrad is not Russia. Irkutsk and other Siberian cities would remain, but "one bomb is sufficient to destroy Bonn and the Ruhr, and that is all of Germany. Paris is all of France, London is all of England. You have surrounded us with bases, but our rockets can destroy them. If you start a war, we may die, but the rockets will fly automatically."

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Harriman suggested that Soviet decisions with regard to Berlin should not be taken too lightly. Mr. Khrushchev replied that it had all been carefully thought out. "Don't you think otherwise," he said. "Your generals talk of tanks and guns defending your Berlin position. They would burn," he said.

"I am giving you a secret of the General Staff which your military can use in competition in ballistic missiles. I am talking seriously now. If we spend 30 billion rubles on ballistic missiles, in the next 5-6 years, we can destroy every industrial center in the US and Europe. Thirty billion rubles is no great sum for us. In the Seven Year Plan, we are spending on power, gas, etc., no less than 125 billion rubles. Yet to destroy all Europe and the US would cost us only 30 billion. We have this possibility. If we ~~save~~ 11 billion in one year, if we overfulfill our plan by 5%, this will give us a savings of 55 billions in five years. Yet we only need 30 billion....I am talking about potentialities. Of course, we will make some missiles, but we won't use them. We know if you use yours, it would be silly. Who would lose more? Let us keep our rockets loaded and if attacked we will launch them."

"At any time we desire, we can destroy Formosa. I will tell you confidentially, we have given the Chinese rockets which are in the Chinese hinterland but within range of Formosa and can destroy it at will. Your Seventh Fleet will be of no avail. Fleets today are made to be destroyed. If the Chinese decide to take Formosa, we will support them even if it means war."

Moscow, Foreign Service  
Despatch No. 734,  
26 June 1959  
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Nixon-Khrushchev Conversation, 26 July 1959

After about one-half hour of casual table talks Khrushchev launched the serious phase of the conversation with a discourse on Soviet rocket and atomic prowess. He said that he had a long session yesterday with Soviet scientists who had presented plans to him for launching rockets into the earth's orbit with a payload of 100 tons. This, he said, was sufficient for all kinds of instrumentation, it was also sufficient to carry man and equipment for his return to earth. This project was only in the planning stage at present, but solidly based and clearly realizable without difficulty. He then referred to the accuracy of modern missiles, citing a Soviet ICBM launching about a week ago over a 7000 kilometer course with a final deviation off target of 1.7 kilometers in distance and less than 1.4 kilometers to the right. However, he continued, accidents were always possible. In this connection, he wanted to divulge a secret: a month ago the Soviet Government had been very worried when an ICBM of this same type (Mikoyan contradicted him at this point and said that this was a different missile) had a malfunction in the engine cut off system and had overshot its intended course by 2000 kilometers. The Soviet Government had feared it might land in Alaska but fortunately it fell into the Ocean. While this missile had carried no warhead, its accidental landing in Alaska, he realized, could have created a grave incident. Khrushchev said that he

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supposed that we had monitored these shots. In fact, he said, he knew that we did and confirmed that the Soviets do too. The Vice President pointed out that in this field it was very difficult for great nations to do things that are not known to the other side, to which Khrushchev agreed. The Vice President said that this was the reason why the U.S. had been happy to show Mr. Tupolev our missile production--the U.S. felt that no secrets had been revealed.

The Vice President noted that Mr. Kozlov had been invited to observe missile launchings at the Vandenburg and Cape Canaveral launching sites, but had not availed himself of that opportunity.

Khrushchev said that he knew about that, but the USSR felt that the time was not yet ripe for such things. The proper time for such visits would come after the U.S. bases had been liquidated--then the USSR would show the U.S. its launching sites and missiles. The reason for this was a simple one: U.S. bases are some 300 kilometers from the borders of the USSR, while the USSR is several thousand kilometers away from the U.S.

The Vice President observed that this situation was a two-way street and then referred to Khrushchev's statement to Mr. Harriman to the effect that the USSR had given China missiles to shell Quemoy.

Khrushchev denied this and asserted that all he had said was that the USSR would supply China with missiles if it were attacked

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by the U.S. He also said that in view of the insignificant distance of 70 kilometers between the Chinese mainland and Formosa, the USSR could, if necessary, supply China with a large number of missiles capable of covering that distance, but again asserted that at the present time the USSR was not furnishing missiles to anyone.

The Vice President then referred to the high cost of missiles, stating that it was unfortunate that so much money had to be spent for building missiles, when the money needed to build one missile could buy 153,000 TV sets, or endow several universities, or buy shoes for several million children.

Khrushchev expressed surprise at these figures and said that the U.S. missile production was too expensive and that it was much cheaper in the USSR. He went on to say that, as he had told Mr. Harriman, the USSR was in possession of "U.S. operational plans," the authenticity of which, of course, was not certain in view of possible U.S. counterintelligence operations, and that it was possible that the U.S. had Soviet operational plans too. Soviet specialists, he said, had told him that to paralyze vital centers in the U.S., as well as in Europe, Asia, i.e., the U.S. bases on these two continents, rockets, costing a total of 30 billion rubles were needed. This figure was based on the Soviet missile production costs, and it had been reported accurately by Mr. Harriman. He added that this figure included the cost of both ICBMs, which were the most expensive, and IRBMs as well.

  
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The Vice President inquired whether Mr. Khrushchev was referring to what the Soviet Union had or what it needed.

Khrushchev replied that this was what the USSR had. (However there was at this point considerable discussion between Soviet leaders and interpreters. Consensus of Russian-speaking Americans present was that Khrushchev was talking in terms of present Soviet capabilities rather than of actual stocks of missiles already on hand.)

The Vice President then remarked that this meant that the USSR had 3 billion dollars worth of missiles to knock out vital centers of the U.S., Europe, and Asia.

Khrushchev replied that ICBMs would be used only against the U.S., while the U.K., Germany, and even Spain could be hit with IRBMs, i.e., missiles with a range of 2000 kilometers; the next higher range of ballistic missiles, he added, was 4000 kilometers.

The Vice President then commented that, as far as the U.S. was concerned, the main cost was involved in launching sites rather than in missiles proper, and inquired whether this was also true in the USSR.

Khrushchev replied in the negative, saying that launching pads were cheap and that the USSR was building mobile launching pads so that they could change positions.

The Vice President asked Mr. Khrushchev whether mobile launching platforms were built for use in the air or land.

  
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Khrushchev replied that they were not intended for use in the air.

The Vice President then wondered why the Soviet Union continued to build bombers when ICBMs were available.

Mr. Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union had almost stopped the production of bombers. Bombers and fighter aircraft were being built only in numbers sufficient to maintain the training of Soviet air personnel so that this investment would not be lost. He said that perhaps these bombers could be useful for some limited purpose, but it was not likely. Missiles were much more accurate and not subject to human failure of human emotion. He said that humans were frequently incapable of dropping bombs on assigned targets because of emotional revulsion, a factor not present in missiles. He cited an incident in World War II when Russian bomber crews had claimed to have hit an advanced target, but when the territory in question was recovered the target was found intact because the personnel involved had simply jettisoned their bombs harmlessly without even reaching the target area. Khrushchev went on to say that he felt really sorry for the Navy, it being an obsolete element in arms, which could only provide "fodder for sharks." In view of their slow speed, cruisers and aircraft carriers were completely useless, "sitting ducks," and the USSR had stopped building them.

The Vice President observed that Khrushchev apparently did not include submarines in his analysis of modern naval capabilities,

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since the Soviets had been reported to be building submarines in quantities.

Khrushchev confirmed the Soviets were building as many submarines as they could. However, Mikoyan intervened at this point and said "as many as needed."

The Vice President commented that submarines were highly useful for launching missiles and that they would be particularly useful when solid fuel had been developed.

Khrushchev agreed but said that the Soviets believed that launching from land was much better than from the sea.

The Vice President observed that this depended on the strategic situation of the nation involved.

Mr. Khrushchev then said that he wanted to reveal another secret--submarines would be used by the USSR for destroying ports, suburban areas [sic] and the Navy of the enemy. Destruction of the enemy's Navy would paralyze his sea communications, a factor which would be of great importance, since the Soviet Union's potential enemy would be slightly dependent on sea communications. He said that Soviet submarines would carry ballistic missiles and anti-vessel rockets, the range of which was now 600 kilometers, but would be increased to 1000 kilometers in the future. The latter range, according to Soviet scientists, would be entirely sufficient.

The Vice President then pointed out that the main problem in

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missiles was fuel and said that the USSR had been reported as having made good progress in this field, which was evidenced by ~~the~~ thrusts it had attained. It was obvious that the future called for the development of solid fuels, which were easier to store and maintain in readiness. Solid fuel would particularly answer the problem of submarine-carried missiles.

Khrushchev confirmed that the Soviet Union had attained success in the development of rocket fuels, saying that without that its achievements in rocketry would not have been possible. However, he declined to discuss the question of solid fuels, saying that this was a technical subject which he, being a politician rather than a technician, was not qualified to discuss.

The Vice President then referred to Mr. Khrushchev's statements in Albania, in which he had said that it was better to station intermediate range rockets in Albania, than in the USSR. Since press reports may be interpreted in different ways, the Vice President said, it would be interesting to know what Mr. Khrushchev actually had in mind.

Khrushchev said that the U.S. had made arrangements for stationing missiles in Italy, arrangements which were directed against the USSR rather than, say Africa. The USSR has to paralyze these missiles and he believed that the best place for stationing Soviet missiles would be Albania. The distances between Albania and Italy is only 300 kilometers and thus the

  
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Soviet Union would not have to expend its longer-range missiles or endanger neutral territory. When the Vice President interjected, "or without danger to yourselves from fallout," Khrushchev dismissed this as another question. Italy and Greece could be hit best from Albania and Bulgaria, while Turkey could be hit from the territory of the USSR and Bulgaria. It was this that he had in mind, although he had not mentioned Turkey in the statement referred to by the Vice President. However, he added at present the Soviet Union had no bases in these two countries. They would be established in Albania when U.S. bases were established in Italy and in Bulgaria when U.S. bases were established in Greece.

The Vice President then asked whether the Soviets made a distinction between collective security arrangements such as NATO and the individual nations belonging to NATO.

Khrushchev said yes, but the individual members of such arrangements had to make a decision about bases if they wanted to avoid becoming missile targets. If some individual country decided not to accept rockets, the Soviet Union would not hit it with its own missiles.

The Vice President observed that Khrushchev frequently made public statements on the subject of missiles, including the question of their delivery to China. When people in the west read some such statements it was possible that they got an impression which Khrushchev did not intend. He said that today

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Mr. Khrushchev was apparently simply relating his estimate of the strength the USSR possesses and how this strength would resist any attack or how the USSR would counterattack. However, when such talk is published throughout the world it frequently creates the impression of a deliberate attempt to threaten other countries. Taking into account the attitude toward peace of the people of the U.S. as well as other nations, these statements could be misunderstood. The Vice President said that he did not know the strength of the U.S. as well as the President, who was highly competent in the military field and could discuss these matters at length. Mr. Khrushchev, of course, also knows the strength of the USSR very well. However, the U.S. has, as Khrushchev knows, considerable power but it does not want to have to use it. No war, regardless of who starts it, can be prevented from causing disaster to the entire world, because even a sudden blow could not eliminate the retaliatory power of the other side. As to the U.S. and the USSR, their respective advantages could not be decisive, i.e., they both must recognize that they are both strong, that they have the necessary will and that their peoples are strong. Neither of the two countries should look down upon the other; and if there is natural respect then the two countries can create a basis for the negotiations necessary for reducing existing world problems and for bringing about a reduction in armed forces, which is desired by both sides. The Vice President

  
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continued by saying that in his statements to the press as well as in his public statements he would make no reference to the balance of power between the U.S. and the USSR, but would rather emphasize that both nations are powerful and that they have to see to it that the future is that of peace rather than of war. Both nations have leaders who know war and want peace at heart. The Vice President emphasized that he was not saying that a settlement of differences would be easy, but still both sides must exert every effort toward this end.

Mr. Khrushchev expressed full agreement as to the Vice President's estimate of the correlation of forces as between the two powers. He denied that Soviet leaders had ever made statements to the effect that the Soviet Union could destroy the United States without suffering losses itself. But some American generals had said that the U.S. could wipe out the Soviet Union in no time. (The Vice President indicated dissent, but Khrushchev held the floor.) He then continued to say that he would reveal another secret. The Vice President was undoubtedly familiar with Marshal Vershinin's famous interview about a year ago on Soviet capabilities of destruction. It was he, Khrushchev, who had dictated that interview. He had been on vacation at that time and had summoned the Marshal and a secretary in order to dictate that interview. The Soviet Government could not let pass in silence certain statements by U.S. generals and the Presidium had carefully

  
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considered at what level their reply should be issued. Finally it chose Vershinin, Chief of the Soviet Air Force, to equate with the sources of U.S. threats. A statement by one of the Ministers or by the Chief of Staff would not have been appropriate because it could have been misunderstood by the other side. The Soviet Government as such had never made statements comparable to statements by such U.S. generals. Such statements were irresponsible because the other side might misunderstand them. [The Vershinin statement referred to appears to be a four-column interview with the Commander-in-chief of the Soviet Air Forces by a PRAVDA correspondent published in the PRAVDA of Sunday, Sept. 8, 1957, summarized as follows by Embassy Moscow at that time:

"Primary emphasis on (1) annihilative nature of another general war; (2) U.S. 'stupidity' evidenced by Generals and Admirals who say Soviet Union could be destroyed in several hours; (specific reference to General Norstad, Admiral Burke and Field Marshal Montgomery); (3) rocket warfare nature of next war, Soviet superior offensive ability with such weapons, and charge that there is no defense against rockets; (4) ulterior motives, particularly adverse to U.S. military partners, of U.S. plan for world supremacy; (5) ulterior motives of U.S. monopolies and military leaders for continuation of arms race; (6) necessity follow Soviet standard disarmament proposals."

Khrushchev then said that it would be very easy for the USSR

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to destroy Europe and also mentioned that there would be no need for pinpoint missile accuracy, since accuracy with a 100 kilometer tolerance would be entirely adequate. He then cited a joke he understood to be current in England about pessimists and optimists. The pessimists said only 6 atomic bombs would be needed to wipe out the U.K., while the optimists said 9 or 10 would be required. Referring again to Turkey, Khrushchev said that, while being a poor, hungry country of beggars, it was a U.S. base. The USSR held no naval forces in the Black Sea because Turkish territory as well as the entire sea could be covered with missiles and missile carriers. This was why the Soviet Union could not understand why the U.S. held to its bases. Perhaps the purpose was to divert the Soviet Union's nuclear power to the countries where U.S. bases are maintained. Mikoyan interjected that the purpose of U.S. bases was "political domination." Khrushchev said, "If you intend to make war on us, I understand; if not, why do you keep them?"

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Nov. 14, 1959 Khrushchev Speech to Soviet Journalists

Speaking of our economic potential, of the Soviet Union's defense capacity, it should be pointed out that this year we had the shortest ever military parade, although this year the Soviet army is at the height of its invincible might.

A few years ago I said in a speech that an intercontinental ballistic missile had been developed in our country. Then, many many public leaders in capitalist countries stated that probably Khrushchev was just boasting. When we started production of these rockets, I said that in our country intercontinental missiles were on the assembly line. Again they began to say that this could not be, that Khrushchev was boasting again.

A. I. Mikoyan: "Let them themselves make such a boast!"

Khrushchev: Boast YOU can, but one must boast in such a way that all the world should see what you are boasting of. When we made such a "boast" all the world saw how our rocket soared to the moon and landed there!

And so this is no empty boast, these are real facts. I think, dear comrades, members of the Presidium, that I will let out no secret, and at the same time I want to be understood correctly: We do not want to frighten anyone, but we can tell the truth, namely that now we have such a stock of missiles, such an amount of atomic and hydrogen warheads, that if they attack us we could raze our potential enemies off the face of the earth.

During a visit to one of the plants, we saw how the workers, engineers and scientists build missiles. Seeing this process we experienced a dual feeling--the feeling that the most lethal, the most destructive weapon is produced there, and, on the other hand, the feeling of pride that we have it. People may say that Khrushchev is becoming contradictory, he comes out for peace, he receives the Lenin Peace Prize, and takes pride in the production of means of destruction. I am proud because this weapon is possessed by the most peace-loving state, by the Communist Party, by the people, who are defending the cause of peace. It is a dreadful weapon for those who would like to unleash a war. Consequently, it is an asset in the struggle for peace.

Our policy is not a "positions of strength" policy. We proposed total and universal disarmament at the United Nations General Assembly this year. We are ready to dump all rockets. By the way, I shall reveal--and let the people abroad know it, I am making no secret of this--that in one year 250 missiles with hydrogen warheads came off the assembly line in the factory we visited. This represents millions of tons in terms of conventional explosives. You can well imagine that if this lethal weapon is

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Nov. 14, 1959      Khrushchev Speech to Soviet Journalists (Cont)

exploded over some country there will be nothing left there at all.

Such are the mighty weapons which we have at our disposal for protecting our motherland. And possessing such weapons we declare that we are ready to sink all this in the sea in the interest of insuring peace on earth, in the interests of the future, so that all people of ours and future generations should live in tranquility, so that they should know that we only do not want war, but that we do not even want to have the means of waging war. We are ready to destroy all these weapons of ours at once, if other countries follow our example.

PRAVDA 18 Nov 59 (U)

14 Jan 60, Khrushchev Speech to Supreme Soviet

We are several years ahead of other countries in the creation and mass production of intercontinental ballistic rockets of various types....

After the launching of Soviet artificial satellites and cosmic rockets, which demonstrated the possibilities of modern technology, the fact that the United States is now in no way less vulnerable militarily than any other country has firmly entered the minds of the American people. I believe that nobody will suspect me of trying to intimidate anybody by such words. No, this is the actual state of affairs, and it is evaluated in this way not only by us but also by Western statemen, including statemen of the United States itself....

Since our foes have not yet relegated to the archives even the term "positions of strength," why is it that we, instead of matching force with force, still decided to reduce the army and the navy and consequently to reduce arms expenditure? Are we not displaying some lack of concern for the security of our country? We have studied this question in detail from every angle, consulted with the military and the general staff, and unhesitatingly reply: Our defense will be fully sufficient, and we have realistically taken these realistic calculations and to adopt such a responsible decision? What grounds are there for deputies to accept this decision, firmly confident that it will not damage the defense potential of our country?

Our confidence in the correctness of the measures proposed is based on the fact that the Soviet country is going through a period of unparalleled, tempestuous development of the whole national economy. It is based on the indestructible moral-political solidarity of the Soviet public. Soviet scientists, engineers, and workers have insured the possibility of equipping our army with hydrogen, rocket, and other modern weapons. The development of our economy, the achievements of scientists and technical thought -- these have created the conditions for the decision to reduce the armed forces....

The Soviet Union has acquired the necessary supply of atomic and hydrogen weapons. A long as an agreement on banning nuclear weapons is not reached, we are compelled to continue their production. We must, of course, expand considerable funds for this purpose, but we cannot as yet give up completely the production of nuclear arms. Such decisions must be the result of an agreement of the countries possessing nuclear arms.

Our state has at its disposal powerful rocket equipment. The military air force and navy have lost their previous importance in view of the modern development of military equipment. This type of armament is not being reduced but replaced. Almost the entire military air force is being replaced by rocket equipment. We have by now sharply cut, and it seems will continue sharply to cut and even discontinue the manufacture of bombers and other obsolete equipment. In the navy, the submarine fleet assumes great importance, while surface ships can no longer play the part they once did. In our country the armed forces have been to a considerable extent transferred to rocket and nuclear arms. These arms are being perfected and will continue to be perfected until they are banned.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government can report to you, comrade deputies, that the arms we now possess are formidable; and those which are, so to speak about to appear, are even more perfect, even more formidable.

The arms being designed and, so to speak, in the portfolios of scientists and designers are incredible arms. You, comrade deputies, will probably agree that one cannot now approach the problem of the numerical strength of the army as one did just a few years ago. Suffice it to say that from 1955 the numerical strength of armed forces in our country has been cut by one-third while its firepower--thanks to the introduction and development of the latest types of modern military equipment--increased many times during the same period. In our time the defense potential of the country is not determined by the number of our soldiers under arms, by the number of persons in naval uniform. If one is to divert one's attention from the general political and economic factors to which I referred earlier, the defense potential of the country, to a decisive extent, depends on the total firepower and the means of delivery available to the given side.

The proposed reduction will in no way weaken the firepower of our armed forces, and this is the main point. In fact, the state maintains its army for the very purpose of having the firepower necessary to withstand the likely enemy and prevent him from attack or give him a proper rebuff should he attempt to attack our country.

The Soviet Army now has combat means and firepower never before possessed by any army. I emphasized once more that we already have so many nuclear weapons, both atomic and hydrogen, and the necessary rockets for delivering these weapons to the territory of a potential aggressor, that should any madman launch an attack on our state or on

other socialist states we would be able to literally wipe the country or countries which attack us off the face of the earth.

Any sober-minded person understands full well that atomic and hydrogen weapons constitute the greatest threat to those countries which have a great density of population. In the event of a new world war all countries would ultimately suffer in one way or another. We, too, would suffer great calamities; we would have many losses, yet we would survive. Our territory is immense and the population is less concentrated in major industrial centers than in many other countries. The West would suffer incomparably more.

Should the aggressors unleash a new war not only would it be their last war, but it would be the death of capitalism, because the peoples would clearly understand that capitalism is a source for starting wars, and would not further tolerate this system which brings suffering and calamity for mankind. Taking all this into consideration the Soviet people can feel calm and secure. The modern arms of the Soviet Army fully guarantee our country's impregnability.

Naturally, impregnability (nepristupnost) is a rather relative concept. One must not ignore the fact that our enemies, and certain states, not disguising their military and political aims who call themselves our enemies, will not be marking time. Even though these states do not now have as many rockets as we do, and if their rockets are not as highly developed, they can make good their temporary lagging, improve their rocket technology, and, may sooner or later, draw even with us.

The United States has set itself the task of catching up with the Soviet Union in the production of rockets in five years. They will naturally make every effort to raise their rocketry from the state it is now in and meanwhile going to sit with arms folded.

Even in America itself, people are saying, "And are the Russians going to wait? They'll wait and shoot crap (Budut zhdad, budut y kosti igrat)." Yes, of course, we shall do everything to use the time we have gained to develop rocket armaments and to take the leading position in this field until international agreement on the question of disarmament is reached.

The following question arises, however: If the possibility is not excluded that some capitalist countries will draw even with us in the field of modern armaments, will they not, possibly, act perfidiously and attack us first in order to make use of the factor of surprise attack with such a formidable weapon as the rocket-atomic

weapon and thus have an advantage for achieving victory? No, modern means of waging war do not give any country such advantages. One can be the first to attack; for this one does not need to be particularly clever, one must rather be reckless to do this. We, of course, are aware of the fact that some of our possible adversaries are inclined this way. One can often observe how in one country or another the adherents of the position of strength policy are showing haste and zeal, although it would seem that Hitler's laurels should have had a cooling effect on them. But it seems that the minds of these leaders are so blurred that these serious lessons of history have been forgotten by them.

Let us, however, assume, that some state, or group of states, succeeds in preparing and carrying out a surprise attack on a power with nuclear and rocket weapons. But could the attacking side, even if one supposes for a moment that it succeeded in inflicting a surprise attack, be able to put out of order immediately all the stocks of nuclear weapons, all the rocket installations on the territory of the power attacked? Certainly not. The state subjected to a sudden attack, if, of course, the state in question is a sufficiently big one, will always be able to give a powerful rebuff to the aggressor. We take into account the fact that foreign military bases are located around our country. That is why we site our rocket facilities in such a way as to insure duplication and triplication. The territory of our country is immense. We have the possibility of dispersing our rocket facilities, of camouflaging them well. We are creating such a system that if some means earmarked for a retaliatory blow were put out of commission one could always send into action the means duplicating them and hit the targets from reserve positions.

All this is quite sufficient to exercise a sobering influence on any person of normal psychology, people who are responsible before nations for their actions, who have the fate of nations at heart. But, naturally, one cannot speak for madmen.

Madmen have always existed and, apparently, will not disappear in the future. But one must not forget that if in the past the accession of such madmen to power led to bloody wars it would now be an entirely unprecedented disaster. Like those of us who on leaving home make sure that no inflammable material, matches, or certain electric appliances fall into the hands of a silly child and unwittingly provoke a terrible disaster for the home and the whole town, thus, nations ought to take care that the government, parliament, and other responsible posts for insuring peace are not penetrated by people who have mad and criminal aims. Great vigilance is required of people to prevent madmen from using rocket and nuclear weapons against mankind until a solution is found for

the question of full and universal disarmament and, consequently, the destruction of all means of warfare....

Would not the reduction of the Soviet Army subject our country to danger, and not only our country, but also the cause of peace? Would not this be a temptation to aggressive forces, the enemies of communism, to unleash a war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and thus plunge mankind into a new blood bath? Would not the "deterrent"--to use an expression current in the West--of the Soviet Union thus be undermined or lost?

We have taken this into consideration and report to the Supreme Soviet that there will be no weakening in the defensive power of our motherland. Under present conditions wars would not be carried out as before and there would be little to resemble previous wars. Formerly states tried to keep armies as near as possible to their frontiers in order to have available, as it were, a live barrier of soldiers and guns at the right moment. If a state wanted to invade the territory of another, it had to attack these border troops. That is how a war usually began. The first days of fighting occurred on the frontiers of the fighting countries where the armies were concentrated.

Now if war begins, military operations would proceed differently, since states will have the means to deliver weapons over thousands of kilometers. War would begin in the heart of the warring countries; moreover there would not be a single capital, not a single major industrial or administrative center, not a single strategic area which would not be subjected to attack, not only during the first days, but during the first minutes of the war.

Thus war would begin differently, if it is started, and it would develop differently. The reduction of the numerical strength of the army will not hinder us from maintaining the country's defense ability at its requisite level. As before, we shall have all the essential means for the defense of the country and the enemy will know this well, and if he does not know this then we warn him and state openly that in reducing the numbers of the armed forces we are not diminishing its firing power. On the contrary it increases qualitatively by several times.

We are embarking on the reduction of our armed forces not because of any economic or budgetary weakness, but because of our strength and might. We are guided by the peace-loving aspirations of our people. And it should be clear to everybody that should a situation

14 Jan 60, Khrushchev Speech to Supreme Soviet (Continued)

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arise which would require an increase in expenditure for the maintenance of the army, our budget and our economy would make it possible to allocate extra tens of billions of rubles for strengthening the security of our motherland. Should the country be threatened with immediate danger of attack, not only should we be able to maintain our armed forces at their present strength but to increase them considerably. Our budget, our economy, would be able to sustain it, and at the same time we could make capital investments for the fulfillment of the seven-year plan.

Soviet Home Service (live  
broadcast), 14 Jan 60



15 Jan 60, Malinovskiy, Supreme Soviet

The Soviet armed forces are a faithful guard of the Soviet people who under the leadership of the party are building the bright edifice of communism. They are vigilantly and reliably safeguarding the interests of our country always in full fighting readiness for a decisive rebuff to the aggressor. In their technical equipment, military training, and armament, the Soviet Army and Navy are poised on the level of the latest achievements of science and technology. They are equipped with the latest and the most powerful means of waging a war, of which the most important are rocket weapons with nuclear warheads.

These weapons are represented in our armed forces in sufficient numbers by ballistic rockets of various purposes, including operative-tactical rockets with a range of from tens to several hundred kilometers and strategic rockets, including intercontinental rockets with a practically unlimited range. Modern ballistic rockets which possess enormous speeds, altitude, and distance of flight are capable of reliably delivering nuclear warheads of the most varied strength to any point within a short space of time and under any meteorological conditions.

They assure the high potentiality of dealing powerful blows simultaneously on a great number of objectives. The great range and speeds of the flights of rockets enable one's striking power to be adopted quickly, to transfer the main thrust from one direction or theater of military operation of another, and by massed nuclear blows to influence decisively the alteration of the situation to one's own advantage. To launch rockets it is not necessary to build large airtases with their costly equipment. Rocket launching sites are a great deal easier to camouflage, and even to conceal completely, which assures a higher degree of viability and invulnerability for rocket weapons.

All this testifies to the fact that the rocket weapon is the most effective of all previously existing and present means of warfare. Suffice it to say that if during the period 1940 to 1945 the Anglo-American air forces, having made a tremendous number of flights, succeeded in dropping about two million tons of bombs on objectives in Germany and the countries occupied by her, at the present time one strategic rocket is capable of delivering to its target a nuclear weapon equivalent in power to the total explosive force of the conventional explosives contained in those two million tons of bombs.

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If by way of reference and analysis one refers to the estimates of both our and foreign specialists, it will be found that about 100 such nuclear weapons, exploded within a short time over a state with developed industries, whose territory comprises about 300,000-500,000 square kilometers, are sufficient to reduce all its industrial areas and administrative-political centers to a heap of rubble, and the territory infected by lethal radioactive substance to barren desert. Moreover, nations with small territories and a high density of population are extremely vulnerable and more viable. Rocket weapons with nuclear warheads are indeed dreadful weapons, both in power and the fact that there is no defense against them.

Whereas with the present means of warfare to destroy a vessel at sea, to bring down an aircraft or aircraft projectile in the air does not present any great difficulty, to destroy a ballistic missile in flight is, so far, impossible. It reaches its target relentlessly.

The rocket troops of our armed forces are undoubtedly the main type of armed forces. However, we understand that it is not possible to solve all tasks of war by one type of troops. Therefore, proceeding from the premise that the successful carrying out of military actions in a modern war are only possible on the basis of a unified use of all means of armed fighting and the combining of the efforts of all types of armed forces, we are retaining at a definite strength and in relevant sound proportions all types of our armed forces whose military operations, as far as their organization and their means of action are concerned, will little resemble what took place in the past war.

Moscow, Home Service (U)

7 May 1960, KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH TO THE SUPREME SOVIET

Comrades, I report to the Supreme Soviet that on the decision of the government, the Soviet Army and Navy are being switched over to rocket weapons; strictly speaking, have been switched over already. Therefore, we have set up a chief rocket troops command. Marshal of Artillery Nedelin, a remarkable artillery man who covered himself with glory during the war against Nazi Germany, has been appointed commander in chief of these troops.

I would like to tell you, Comrade Nedelin: Do not rely on God. Better train your troops and master the technical equipment which we have entrusted to you so that the rocket troops, in case of an enemy attack, are capable of dealing a devastating retaliatory blow at the enemy at any moment!

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in English to Europe,

7 May 1960 (U)

21 June 60, Khrushchev Speech to Rumanian Party Congress

Now, after the failure of the policy of spy flights over the Soviet Union, aggressive circles in the United States are trying to justify their activities and are stating that these flights were allegedly necessary for the national defense of the country, and for preventing so-called surprise attacks by establishing the location of Soviet rocket bases.... I assert that the data obtained by the spy flights are of no importance to the defense of the United States. We know that the spy flights were carried out over regions which have no rocket bases. We know that two or three years ago regions where experimental rocket-launching sites were situated were photographed. Only the experimental ground for launching rockets were photographed, not the rocket bases of military and strategic importance.

Let the U.S. senators who are now investigating this dirty affair call in specialists if they are unable to deal with this matter themselves. If they wish, we ourselves are prepared to be consulted in this matter; then they may be convinced that American planes flew over experimental sites, not rocket bases. Other objectives have undoubtedly been photographed also, but they, too, have no connection with rocket bases.

FBIS 22 June 60

22 Feb 61, Malinovsky Statement on Armed Forces

Our Armed Forces now have the most up-to-date weapons and equipment. Possessing an unprecedented firepower, they are able to strike a deadly retaliatory blow at any aggressor, says Marshal of the Soviet Union Rodion Malinovsky, the Minister of Defense of the USSR. He contributes an article to Pravda on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The Soviet Army and Navy, equipped with nuclear rocket weapons, are firmly safeguarding the security of their homeland and the integrity of the countries of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union has become militarily the strongest state. The Soviet armed forces now have at their disposal more than enough nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, the world's finest ballistic intercontinental and continental rockets of various types, and a whole series of rockets designed for tactical operations. These powerful weapons are by no means designed for offense but exclusively to protect the security of our homeland and the national interests of the socialist countries.

TASS, 22 Feb 61

20 Feb 61, Sokolovskiy Interview on Armed Forces

Marshal of the Soviet Union Vasily Sokolovskiy said in a TASS interview that reduction of the armed forces of the USSR under the law adopted by the fourth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in January 1960 "is proceeding at full speed."

"The power and military preparedness of the Soviet armed forces are now at a higher level than ever before," the marshal stressed in the interview given on the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the Soviet army and navy which falls on Feb. 23. The marshal said that the Soviet army and navy have completed reorganization and reequipment with new weapons. "Strategic rocket forces have been established as the principal arm of the armed forces of the USSR." The marshal stressed great achievements in the military and political training of the troops in the past year.... "The might of the Soviet armed forces, in particular the constant readiness of the strategic rocket force, represents a powerful barrier to the triggering of war by imperialism," Marshal Vasily Sokolovskiy said, concluding the interview.

TASS, 20 Feb 61

20 Oct 60, Khrushchev Statement on Rocket-Carrying Atomic Submarines

" . . . We have a powerful and well-equipped industry which is capable of producing the very latest means of defense in the necessary quantity . . . . We have a first-class modern army equipped with rocket and nuclear weapons . . . . A report recently appeared in the press to the effect that the Pentagon has decided to send submarines equipped with rocket and nuclear weapons to cruise off the shores of the Soviet Union. American generals and admirals cannot help knowing that our country also has atomic-powered submarines equipped with rockets . . . ."

PRAVDA, 21 Oct 60

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Early October 1960, Khrushchev to Satellite delegates en route to the United Nations

The United States is conducting a policy of cold war but this policy reflects their fear of our strength. Two hundred rockets are sufficient to destroy England, France and Germany; and, three hundred rockets will destroy the United States. At the present time the USSR has so many rockets that mass production has been curtailed and only the newest models are under construction. Actually, there is no need for these, but weapons have always played a deciding role in history and we must produce them to demonstrate our strength. For example, feudalism fell with the discovery of gun powder and the fate of castles and feudalistic cavalry was sealed. Contemporary imperialism created militarism and thus fascism was born. Tremendous armies were created, but today these armies can be liquidated with rockets from great distances. This is an important factor working against militarism since there is no longer any need or benefit derived from maintaining large armies.

The USSR is presently melting down the classical weapons and are producing tractors with the iron derived therefrom. These weapons have no meaning in achieving victory and would be used primarily for holding territory already conquered, or for police functions. Militarism is becoming aimless today and the more imperialistic countries support it the faster they are being left behind, torn from the contemporary development of military art and a burden to their economy...

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